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National Council member Thomas J. Wertenbaker, after a long and brilliant career as professor at Princeton University and author of many noted volumes on American history, turned to historic restorations and particularly to the restoration at Williamsburg when he retired. The result of his study of the Williamsburg project has not yet been published, but Professor Wertenbaker, who was active in the founding of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings, synthesized some of his research when he spoke to a Garden Symposium in Williamsburg on February 28. Members who are planning to attend the National Council's Annual Meeting will find it a valuable summary and review. It is a pleasure for the National Council to print it for the first time.

HISTORIC RESTORATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

By Thomas J. Wertenbaker

Historians throughout the ages have given personal testimony to the aid they have derived from historic sites and buildings. Herodotus thought it worth his time to visit the various countries which were the scenes of his narratives, not only to question persons and examine records, but to view for himself the palaces and temples and rivers and battlefields which were the stage on which his characters moved.

Carlyle, when writing his Life of Frederick II, dropped his pen for several months, in 1857, to go to the continent and wander over the battlefields, so that he could see for himself in what ways the hills, or streams, or woods shaped the character of the fighting.

Before our own Francis Parkman wrote some of his vivid books, he felt it necessary to visit the scenes of the events he wished to describe, even though his ill health made this a painful and exacting task. "Faithfulness to the truth of history," he tells us, "involves far more than a research, however patient and scrupulous, into special facts. The narrator must seek to imbue himself with the life and spirit of the times." In his later years it was a lasting distress for Parkman, that so much of what he considered vital in our great West as he knew it had been destroyed - the forests, the herds of buffalo, the frontier cabins, etc.

At Princeton, my colleague, Dr. Julian Boyd, is gathering the vast collection of the writing of Thomas Jefferson. He thinks, and I am sure that every historian will agree with him, that each document which he adds to this collection is a treasure of American history. Yet, there are other documents which are revealing of Jefferson's mentality and character which cannot be tucked away in a file - his beloved Monticello, the Lawn of the University of Virginia, the Capitol building at Richmond, beautiful Bremo. Should any one of these happen to burn, a part of Thomas Jefferson would be lost to us forever.

It is often said that if old buildings could speak what interesting tales they would tell. But do they not speak, do they not tell interesting tales? At Williamsburg, the Governor's Palace, the Capitol, the Wren Building, the Wythe House, the Raleigh Tavern, the charming cottages that line the Duke of Gloucester Street, all throw a revealing light upon the character, the type of life, the economy, the tastes, the mentality of the men who occupied them two centuries ago.

The preservation of old buildings is not less valuable from the artistic than the historical point of view. The visitor to Athens who stands before the ruins of the Parthenon realizes how great was the loss to the world when this beautiful building was wrecked. And the thought comes to him that many other ancient structures, perhaps also charming in proportions and artistic in detail, have been totally wiped out. During the first World War we all felt a pang of regret at the injury done the famous cathedral at Reims, and in the recent bitter struggle not the least of the calamities it brought was the destruction of many lovely structures. Beauty is a world heritage; it knows no national boundaries. So we may all grieve at the loss of the ancient Romer, in Frankfort; we may all rejoice that Gottingen and Heidelburg escaped.

Old buildings are among our best teachers. Can anyone visit Winston-Salem to view the Moravian Brothers' House or Sisters' House or the Vierling House, without coming away with a clearer understanding of the influence of the melting-pot in shaping American civilization? Does not Mount Vernon help explain to us the great man who became the Father of his Country? Does not the Lee family take on new life as we wander through the handsome rooms of Stratford? At a recent meeting in Washington I happened to be seated between Mr. Kenneth Chorley, President of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., and Dr. Luther Evans, Librarian of Congress, when suddenly I realized that my companions represented two of the greatest educational institutions in the United States. The Library of Congress represents education through books, Colonial Williamsburg educates by visual representation.

The United States was fortunate in escaping the bombings and cannonadings which were so destructive of the cultural heritage of Europe. But we have not escaped, in fact are peculiarly susceptible to, the no less destructive force of so-called progress, especially through economic encroachments. The pressure of our ever-increasing need for oil is threatening historic Natchez, one of the most charming of our southern cities. Plans have long been on foot to throw a bridge over the York River, which will make it difficult indeed for visitors to this national shrine to envisage the scene which brought the Revolution to a virtual end and insured the independence of the United States. The remains of Fort Sumter, scene of the opening engagement of the War Between the States, have recently been declared surplus property by the War Department, and special Congressional action will be necessary for the preservation of this historic structure. What is left of famous old Fort Snelling, Minnesota, the "nucleus of American Civilization" in the upper Mississippi region, may at any moment be swept away.

The nation should be grateful, then, to those patriotic societies and individuals, who have preserved and restored some of our priceless treasures. It was a southern lady, Miss Ann P. Cunningham, of South Carolina, who led the way. When she heard that Mount Vernon had been offered for sale to the United States government and then to the government of Virginia, that both had declined to buy and that the home and tomb of Washington might be lost to the nation, she organized the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association which raised $200,000 by public subscription, secured the property and has held it in trust for the American people for nearly a century.

Similar in character is the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation, Inc., organized in 1929 "to acquire and save Stratford Hall and to revive plantation life for the enjoyment and education of the people of this country." In New York, the Pell family have restored Fort Ticonderoga, the famous structure which played so important a role in the French and Indian War, while in New England the Portsmouth Historical Society has preserved the John Paul Jones House; the Essex Institute, the John Ward House; the Litchfield Historical Society, the Judge Tapping Reeve House, and so on. The New Englanders have, also, saved the Ropo's House, the House of the Seven Gables, the John Alden House, the Paul Revere House, and many others.

My friend, Mr. George McAneny, whose personal efforts, seconded by the National Park Service, the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, the State of New Jersey, and generous donors, saved the battlefield of Princeton for the American nation, has prevented the destruction of a priceless historical document. And I am certain that other battle sites are equally important for the understanding of our history, and that we will never regain what has been lost by having built over the sites of Bunker Hill, the Battle of Long Island, and other battlefields.

North Carolina is to be congratulated on the steps which have been taken to restore the magnificent Tryon's Palace, at New Bern. It is fortunate that the original drawings of the plan and front elevation by the architect, John Hawks, have been unearthed in the New York Historical Society, and equally fortunate that patriotic citizens, by their interest and generosity have prepared the way for the restoration. Let us hope that nothing will prevent the completion of the plans and the restoration to that state of what must have been the most imposing residence in colonial America.

A restoration of half a century ago which has not received the recognition it deserves is that of the Rotunda at the University of Virginia. Some of us remember it as it used to be when it was far from what Thomas Jefferson had planned, with lecture rooms on the main floor, curving stairs to the library room, a disfiguring skylight, an equally disfiguring annex to the north. When the building burned - and as I look back I realize that I might well have burned up in it, while throwing books from the galleries - faculty, students and alumni mourned their loss, little realizing that it was a blessing in disguise. Not only was the Rotunda restored, but restored from Jefferson's original plans, and now stands more beautiful than before, a perfect example of the revival of classical architecture in America.

May I bear testimony, also, that Jefferson M. Levy deserves credit for good work in preserving lovely Monticello. This famous mansion might have gone to ruin without his care. I well remember that when rotten timbers were being replaced, the nails which had been hammered out in Jefferson's blacksmith shop were objects of exchange for the small boys of Charlottesville, myself among them, one nail for several marbles, often slipped under the bench at Sunday school.

Of especial interest is the plan, recently set on foot by Mr. Henry Hornblower, II, a young man "bubbling over with interest and zeal," to reproduce Plymouth as first constructed by the Pilgrims. Since the original site has been built over with more recent structures which it would be impractical to demolish, another has been chosen about three miles south of the town. Here the Plymouth Plantation, Inc., will reproduce the first street, where there were twelve houses, a fort, the common storehouse, the Governor's house, and the stockade. I am glad to say that they will lend no support to the stubborn tradition that the early English settlers built log cabins, a tradition without historical support, and recently exploded by Harold Shurtleff in

his book, The Log Cabin Myth. That the village will be as historically accurate as care and research can make it we are assured by the announcement that Arthur Shurcliff, Samuel E. Morison, Kenneth Conant, and other distinguished scholars have been consulted. Its value to American history will be great, even though it is not a restoration, but a reproduction.

The work undertaken by the Preservation Society of Newport County is of quite a different character. Newport has an exceptionally large number of early American architectural treasures - Trinity Church, the Colony House, the Redwood Library, the Touro Synagogue, the Old Brick Market, the Vernon House, and many others. It also has the great mansions on the ocean front, those monuments of a unique era in America's development. In fact, Newport presents a colorful drama sweeping across three centuries. Its task is to preserve rather than restore. Yet, if funds were available certain important buildings which have been destroyed could be restored, and the business section and famous harbor converted into one of the most fascinating areas in America.

Somewhat similar is the situation in New Castle, Delaware, where it is designed to restore the central part of the old town, with the Court House, the Town Hall, the Johns House, the Rodney House, the church, and other buildings. Here the situation is especially interesting, since New Castle is a Georgian town built over the ruins of a typically Dutch town, with at least one street lined throughout with eighteenth century houses.

No city in the United States has a richer architectural inheritance than Charleston, South Carolina, with more than a thousand buildings of significance. But in recent years, under the pressure of sudden prosperity, there has been danger that many old houses will be swept away to make room for modern structures. The Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings fought many battles for preservation, but the task was difficult. "You are in a very real sense custodians of important national treasures," said Kenneth Chorley to a Charleston audience. "Here is a city which is unlike any other in our nation - with a charm and character that are unique." At his suggestion the Historic Charleston Foundation was organized, and tours of twenty-four houses started to raise funds. It is to be hoped that the Foundation will be successful in preserving for future generations such treasures as the City Hall, the Fireproof Building, the Miles Brewton House, and the Joseph Manigault House.

Of especial interest to us here this evening are the restorations of colonial gardens. I need not dwell on the beauty of the Palace gardens here, or the Bryan gardens or the Coke-Garrett gardens, since they are here for all to see; they speak for themselves. But we may rejoice at the restoration of the gardens in many other places in Virginia and Maryland. If Thomas Jefferson could return to Monticello how he would rejoice to see once more the garden which was his especial delight, so charmingly restored by Professor Betts, of the University of Virginia, Mrs. Allan Perkins and the Garden Club of Virginia. How fully awakened are the people of Virginia and Maryland to the need of reclaiming their heritage of beauty is shown by the large number of landscape restorations now under way or planned - at "Berkeley," Charles City County; the Harwood-Hammond place, Annapolis; Blanford Cemetery, Petersburg; Long Bridge Ordinary; Hampton Gardens; the gardens at the University of Virginia.

A dream of loveliness are the gardens of William Paca, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, restored by Mr. and Mrs. Arthur A. Houghton. It was to this retreat that Governor Paca fled, rowed over the Chesapeake Bay from Annapolis by "ten velvet-capped blacks," when wearied of the cares of office. In its restoration Mr. William G. Perry and Arthur A. Shurcliff displayed in their work on the Chippendale tea houses, the artistic gates, the terraces, the brick walks, the hedges, the boxwood geometric patterns, the ivy-edged pool, the same artistic talent and adherence to historic truth which made so notable their work here at Williamsburg.

But the most comprehensive, the most complete and most extensive restoration is that of Colonial Williamsburg. Never before in America has an attempt been made to restore an entire town, by removing modern buildings and rebuilding or restoring old ones. This feat was made possible by the teamwork of two remarkable men, Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin and Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and by the fact that so much remained of the town as it was when Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph, and other famous men walked its streets.

It was Dr. Goodwin, rector of Bruton Parish Church, who first dreamed of restoring Williamsburg. To him the history of the old place was of absorbing interest. As he listened with fascination to stories told by some of the older people on moonlit verandas, or on winter nights over blazing fires, the people of other days came alive. The House of Burgesses once more resounded to the eloquence of Patrick Henry, the Palace ballroom was again peopled with gallant men and beautiful women, the music of the minuet and the fragrance of mint again filled the Apollo Room in the Raleigh Tavern.

Thus developed in Dr. Goodwin's mind the conception of a restored colonial city. He wished Williamsburg to be as it was when George Washington rode down from Mount Vernon to attend a session of the Assembly, or when Lord Cornwallis' redcoats encamped there prior to Yorktown, or when Jefferson was a student at the College of William and Mary. Then, and then only, would the glorious history of colonial days be enshrined in the simple beauty of the old capital.

In Mr. Rockefeller, Dr. Goodwin found one of like mind. Mr. Rockefeller loves old buildings; it distresses him to see them fall into decay. But he is strongly of the opinion that it is futile to restore the building unless you restore the setting also. To his mind, the charm of Trinity Church, New York; and the Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia; and Old South Church, Boston, is lost, because they are surrounded not by colonial houses, but by skyscrapers. But in Williamsburg he saw an opportunity of restoring an entire colonial town, with its public buildings, its greens, its residences, its shops, its sidewalks, its gardens. So, contributing not only the funds needed for the project, but many constructive ideas, he made Dr. Goodwin's dream a reality.

The work done by societies and individuals has been ably seconded by the National Park Service. This government agency does not purchase, but confines itself to restoring and maintaining historic sites and buildings. Some years ago I wrote to the National Park Service, pointing out that Nassau Hall at Princeton, during the summer of 1783 had been the capitol of the United States, and suggesting that they restore it as it was at that time. But when they took steps to do so, President Dodds demurred, fearing that the government might wish to take the building over as a national museum, and run him out of his office.

On April 15, 1947, a group of architects, historians, archaeologists, geographers, archivists and antiquarians met in the beautiful National Gallery of Art, in Washington, to organize the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings and the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States. The former is a federation

of societies, with representatives from the American Planning and Civic Association, American Institute of Architects, American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, American Historical Association, Society for American Archaeologists, American Anthropological Association, and many others.

The Council in no way supersedes these or any other bodies, but acts as a coordinating agency. It also assists local societies in emergencies. In other words, to quote the Bylaws, the Council's objects are "to further the preservation, study and interpretation, for the public benefit, of historic sites and buildings...significant for American history and culture."

The National Trust is modeled upon the British National Trust, the organization which now holds many of the most priceless relics of Britain's past. Its purpose is "to receive monies by gift, endowment or bequest...to be applied to the acquisition, maintenance and interpretation of buildings and sites of historic importance." It is anticipated that private owners or societies, as the burden of keeping historic properties becomes too great for them, will turn them over to the Trust, rather than let them fall into ruins or sell them to persons who would seek to use them for financial returns.

A welcome sign this, that America is awakening to the importance of her historic and artistic heritage, and is taking steps to preserve it. But if this moment is one of encouragement, it is also critical. Critical because restorations and preservations do more harm than good unless they are made with meticulous care. One of the most valuable contributions of Colonial Williamsburg has been its close adherence to fidelity. It was Mr. Rockefeller himself who insisted upon the principle that an incorrect restoration is worse than none; just as false or misleading history is worse than none. When Dr. Goodwin first appealed to him to restore the Wren Buildings, of the College of William and Mary, he demurred because it was uncertain what the original structure was like. Only when perspective drawings, plans of the interior arrangements and a mass of documentary evidence became available, did he go ahead.

How well it would have been had other benefactors been equally careful. There are only too many instances in which there has been a minimum of research and a surplus of imagination. The donor does not know what the original was like, the builder does not care, the public accepts anything that is done. So some of our so-called restorations are unlike anything that ever existed in any place or at any time, to remain through the decades as monuments of misinformation.

In any restoration the first step should be to make a thorough and painstaking search, not only through printed historical materials, but in public and family archives. There may be indispensable information in the Library of Congress, or in local historical society archives, or in the county or town records. Private collections of old letters long hidden in attics in chests or trunks may reveal the location of a chimney or a staircase; inventories throw a flood of light upon furnishings. At Williamsburg, the architects would have been handicapped seriously had it not been for the famous Bodleian copper plate engraving, showing perspectives of the Capitol and the Palace; and the Wren Building, Brafferton Hall and the President's House at the College of William and Mary, discovered by Professor Charles M. Andrews and identified by Miss Mary Goodwin.

Archaeological investigation is equally valuable. Every bit of ground around the houses to be restored should be gone over with as much care as though it were the site of Nineveh or Troy or the agora at Athens. Here at Williamsburg shallow trenches were run at frequent intervals to find, not only old foundations, but anything else which would throw light on the buildings themselves and the people who lived in them. Workmen were warned to bring out the artifacts in as perfect condition as possible - old rusted hinges, locks, fragments of tiles, window glass, bottles, chinaware. Every article was cleaned carefully and filed away for future reference as "an historic documents." The value of this to the Restoration has been incalculable.

The architects of the Williamsburg Restoration laid down one cardinal principle to guide their work, that preservation, or the scrupulous retention of the surviving through ordinary repair, should always be undertaken where possible, and that restoration, or rebuilding, be resorted to only when preservation is impossible. When old foundations were unearthed, they were not removed, but strengthened and built upon. Old chimneys, long standing alone after the houses to which they were attached had gone, were integrated into the restorations. To the present moment about fifty per cent of the architectural work at Williamsburg has been preservation, and fifty per cent restoration.

But what is to be done, it may be asked, when old buildings or details of old buildings have been destroyed and the evidence, documentary or otherwise, for their restoration is lacking? In such cases it is wise to seek contemporaneous examples of similar buildings or details and use them to guide the work. If the architects have no description of the woodwork of a certain room, they should turn to books of architecture in use at the time, or to rooms in similar existing houses.

The same principle has been used in restoring the gardens at Williamsburg. Here the archaeologists have contributed indispensable information as to the landscaping by uncovering old walks, the foundations of walls, terraces, garden houses, and so on. But when this is not sufficient, Mr. Arthur A. Shurcliff, the landscape architect, combed not only all eastern Virginia, but the Piedmont, and even North Carolina and Maryland for other gardens which might serve as a guide. And old books on gardens, or books of architecture, such as Kip's English Houses and Gardens, were studied with the greatest care. In addition, old letters, inventories, business correspondence, and so on, were gone over for every available scrap of evidence concerning the shrubs, trees, vines, and flowers which made the old gardens so colorful, restful and charming. It was only when they were certain that English boxwood was the major working material for the eighteenth-century gardeners, that the Restoration landscape architects scoured the country to bring in a wealth of this lovely and fragrant plant.

But constant vigilance was necessary to escape error. A supreme test came in the matter of wisteria planting. This lovely vine, with its blue, or purple, or white flowers, Mr. Shurcliff found growing in profusion in the garden at Westover and elsewhere in Virginia. He also found decayed roots in Williamsburg, and so had conclusive evidence that it had been well known in colonial days. But after the gardeners had planted a hundred or more vines, he discovered that the variety of wisteria they had used had been brought to this country only in the early nineteenth century. Thereupon he reported the matter to President Kenneth Chorley, who gave directions that every one be taken up and replaced with the correct variety.

Colonial Williamsburg has set an excellent example, also, in restoring the environment of the old village. Telephone wires, which formerly ran along the center of the

Duke of Gloucester Street, were put underground; hitching posts were restored; the old street lights once more twinkled from out quaint lanterns placed on posts; the old greens were cleared of houses; smokehouses, woodhouses, fences, gates, hedges duplicated those of two centuries ago; the railway station was moved to a less central position; the water tank no longer broke the harmony of the old Williamsburg. It was found impracticable, however, to keep automobiles out of the village, or to go back to the alternately dusty and muddy streets of former days.

But after all, brick and mortar and fences and trees and flowers are of interest chiefly because of the men with whom they were associated. It is the life of the people of other days which we should try to restore, and physical objects are no more than a means to that end. But imagination is not always trustworthy, especially if unaccompanied by detailed information. In the Middle Ages those who attended theatrical performances were expected to supply the scenery in imagination, but at Williamsburg visitors were given the scenery and asked to imagine the actors and the plot. So Colonial Williamsburg restored not only the shops and tools of the craftsmen of the eighteenth century, but the crafts themselves. You will find the pewterer carrying on his trade under the Sign of the Golden Ball, the cordwainer repairing shoes, the cabinetmaker busy with his saws and planes, the blacksmith pumping his bellows at the Deane Shop and Forge, the barber and perukemaker proudly displaying his handiwork. Effective, also, in making the colonial city come alive is the use of costumes for the hostesses, coachmen, waiters, janitors, and artisans; the placing of old coaches on the streets,and the revival of eighteenth century music.

Since it was never Mr. Rockefeller's intention to turn Williamsburg into a museum, and since it was necessary to provide for the needs of the people who lived there, the west end of the Duke of Gloucester Street was reserved for the business section. You will find there the A. & P., Pendor's grocery store, a modern hardware store, a drug store, and so on, but when you first see them you open your eyes in surprise. Gone are the glaring red fronts, gone the flashing electric signs, gone the plate-glass windows, and in their place are charming buildings such as might have been seen in any colonial town. These buildings are not restorations, but their quaint signs, their imitation wooden shingles, their gambrel roofs, the small panes of the windows, the brickwork, all tend to give the illusion of antiquity.

In their plan for the restoration of Williamsburg, both Dr. Goodwin and Mr. Rockefeller grasped fully its educational significance. "I am convinced that from the historic point of view this is the greatest teaching opportunity which exists in America," wrote the former. "This proposition would not interest me," said Mr. Rockefeller,"unless some complete thing could be done...to insure not only its permanent maintenance, but its permanent use as a center for the study of American history."

And such a center it has become. The hundreds of thousands of tourists who visit the place go away with a new understanding of the men and women who lived here. That a distressingly large proportion are sadly in need of such a refreshing experience their remarks amply testify. One of them inquired why the British flag flew over the Capitol. When the hostess explained that the flag was not the present Union Jack, but the one existing in the days when Virginia was a British province, the visitor asked: "What, was Virginia ever a British province?" Another tourist thought that a silhouette of Robert E. Lee represented Monty Woolley.

So Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., has established a Division of Education, with Dr. Edward P. Alexander, one of the vice presidents, Director, assisted by a large staff. This division concerns itself with publications, illustrated lectures, the hostesses, magazine articles, tourist parties, and so on, and has done invaluable service in interpreting the restoration to visitors and to the public. Similar departments in other restorations would add much to their value.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the educational value of historical restorations. At a time when the foundations of our country are under attack, when foreign nations are assailing our free institutions with all the misrepresentations which malice can suggest, when they are seconded by a powerful Fifth Column within our borders, when it has become a frequent practice to attribute selfish motives to Washington and Jefferson and Hancock and Samuel and John Adams in breaking with Great Britain and creating an independent United States, it is of prime importance that we keep alive the ideals of our ancestors, that we live over again the glorious days which gave us our liberty. We should listen again to Patrick Henry as he thunders out his denunciations of the Stamp Act, we should stand by as the "Mohawks" dump the tea into Boston Harbor, we should ride with Paul Revere as he warns the minutemen that Gage's redcoats are on the march, we should share, in imagination the sufferings of Washington's ragged men at Valley Forge.

And for this is it not of the highest importance that we preserve as best we can the physical surroundings in which these events took place? I should like to quote from a letter written to Mr. Rockefeller by a private in the United States Army who visited Williamsburg during World War II: "I saw Williamsburg recently and I wish to thank you for inviting me, as well as the other soldiers from Fort Eustis, as your guest on this memorable tour. I want to thank you especially for the unique and wonderful way in which this visit made me realize the heritage and rich gifts of our country. Of all the sights I have seen, and the books I have read, and the speeches I have heard, none ever made me see the greatness of this country with more force and clearness than when I saw Williamsburg slumbering peacefully on its old foundations...

"As a soldier in the U. S. Army, I am proud to have set foot on such grand old soil. More than ever it has made me live in the daily hope that by facing the future together, we shall all survive together, both as a united nation and as free men."

Is it not fortunate, then that Faneuil Hall, the Old South Church and Old North Church, in Boston, still stand; that we still have Independence Hall; that St. Paul's in New York is today very much as it was when Washington and his veterans marched past it as they re-entered the city in November, 1783; that Fort Ticonderoga remains to remind us of the night when Ethan Allen's men swept through its ramparts and overpowered the garrison?

We may rejoice that the country is awakening to the importance of this matter. Let us have more Williamsburgs, more Ticonderogas. Let us see to it that no site, no building associated with our history or with the development of American culture, is built over or destroyed to make room for a factory or a garage or a night club. We have an interesting, and inspiring heritage; we should, we must preserve it. In the words of Ruskin: "Our duty is to preserve what the past has had to say for itself, and to say for ourselves also what shall be true for the future."